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The Neutral Tide

Uncommitted Continents

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

"Harvest of Shame"

America's Migrant Workers

by Sue Keisker

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The Catholic Worker

May, 1961

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

POLARIZED POLICY, PLURAL WORLD

BEFORE JOHN F. KENNEDY actually took command of the new Administration he promised that things would get worse before they got better. Even his earlier admirers—among whom we include ourselves—could not think that among the statements he made about the future this would be fulfilled so soon, so completely and so dramatically.

Things are worse than they were several months ago and there is no immediate prospect that they will get better. At home, it is true, the picture is not totally black. The President's domestic program shows some signs of success. Our astronaut keeps up our status as a contender in the space race. Further, after the Cuban catastrophe, the popularity of the President himself has gone, not down, but up. This, of course, is in the tradition of American political life, and those who prefer to see Mr. Kennedy rather than Mr. Nixon in the White House can be thankful that the fiasco did not take place before the November elections.

Nevertheless the Cuban affair was a fiasco, one of the most publicized in our national history, and one that has seriously damaged our position with enemies and allies and neutral countries. We can say with former President Eisenhower, "Don't go back and rake over the ashes," but it would be foolish not to ask if our actions in Cuba were the reasonable outcome of developed foreign policy positions. If they were, then something in the complicated chain that leads to the actual decision needs to be reforged.

It seems clear that President Kennedy is not last among those who question the competence of our intelligence services. These services are, apparently, getting the scrutiny they have needed for some time. More important than examining and reorganizing our Central Intelligence Agency, however, is the need to again examine and reorganize our foreign programs. As David M. Friedenberg remarks elsewhere in this issue, "Up to recent events in Cuba, there were indications that the Kennedy Administration . . . . was beginning to understand the modern world at last."

UNFORTUNATELY the fears and trepidations aroused by the "recent events in Cuba" have only been strengthened by the President's subsequent statements. After Cuba he was, understandably enough, intensely concerned with Communism and with emphasizing the undeniably grave threat it is and will continue to be for years. But, disturbingly, he spoke as if the world were now polarized by the two great powers of the U.S.S.R. and the United States. In his speech to the editors and publishers it was this implicit premise, rather than his actual remarks about the trials and responsibilities of a free press in a free society, that was most disconcerting.

This premise, repeated with variations, was a staple item in John Foster Dulles' policy. It was damaging to a sound foreign policy during the Eisenhower Administration and it remains an obstacle and an obstruction to sound foreign policy now. For the world is not polarized, nor are there indications that it soon will be. There are, in fact, more reasons now than there were ten years ago to think that it will long remain the plural world it has been.

The vast convulsions that are taking place in various continents, the social revolutions and the formation of new nations—these are not the result of an attraction to either Communism or Western democracy, nor of a tension between the two. As a nation we recognize that other nations and peoples have their own aspirations. Apparently we find it

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easy, however, to translate those aspirations into our own terms—to remake our image of the world and then to form our opinions and policies on the basis of that construction rather than upon what actually exists.

We question, therefore, the value of Mr. Kennedy's repeated insistence upon the menace of Communism. Those Americans who are now immune to the knowledge of that threat are probably safe from such knowledge forever. And surely the time has gone by when one must say three times that Communism is a hateful and dangerous thing before he is believed. The great question remains what it was when Mr. Kennedy was campaigning; what is the best way to oppose Communism while advancing our own national interests?

The danger is that we will get so involved in the first half of the equation that we lose sight of the second. Is it, for example, in our national interests to force new nations to choose between the two great powers? Or is it not possible that nations uncommitted to either side will provide a stability the world badly needs? Only when these questions with all their implications are answered can we go on to the more particular questions of where we should commit ourselves with money, men and arms. But to answer these questions properly demands that we be willing to reconsider the direction we are taking. A polarized foreign policy is inadequate to a plural world.

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

NOT COMRADE Cosmonaut, this time, but Mr. Astronaut. That is to say, the most recent celestial voyager was an American, the now world-famous Navy Commander Alan B. Shepard, Jr., who rode a Redstone rocket to a height of 115 miles above the surface of the earth and returned without mishap to a spot 302 miles from the launching pad.

Commander Shepard's feat was followed on television by millions of Americans, and by many more millions overseas. To them, and to the friends of the United States all over the world, our astronaut's flight was a deeply satisfying display of American progress in space technology, a field which had seemed till then the special province of the Soviet Union.

In addition to bolstering American prestige when it sorely needed a lift, the U.S. space flight has impressed the House Space Committee into nearly doubling the space appropriation asked for by the President. It has enabled Mr. Kennedy to serve notice on the Congress that he plans to ask for still more money for this program. What is more, he will probably get it.

All in all, this is undoubtedly good news, for the United States is still far behind in this area, and it is important that we intensify our efforts, especially in the development of large-scale rocket boosters. American prestige is involved in our success in this endeavor, whether we like it or not, and also the defense and security of the West.

Nevertheless, a note of caution is in order. The Administration, and the American people, should not be eager to let the Soviet Union dictate the terms on which our systems will compete. We must increase our efforts in the "race for space," because the race has been thrust upon us, but we must not permit ourselves to be misled by the clamor which surrounds this particular East-West contest.

That is, we must keep firmly in mind the fact that the Soviet Union is by its very nature likely to succeed in the execution of short-range, high-priority physical projects. It should be obvious by now that in the accomplishment of those material national objectives which can be achieved by crash programs, by regimentation, by the ruthless subjugation of private goals to a single end which is determined by the state, a society like the Soviet Union has great advantages over a free society like our own.

The great example which we must give the world is in the achievement of material progress without the sacrifice of individual liberty, the pursuit of abundance for all without the loss of priceless human values. This is the strength of our system—or must be—and the weakness of the efficient totalitarian state. Let us, for a change, work from our strength in our contests with the Communists. Without question, we must get on with the work of building the rockets we need, but let us not fall into the trap of acting as though the worth of the democratic system could be proved or disproved by the outcome of the space race.

PRACTICAL POLITICS?

WHEN THE advantages secured by the new minimum wage law Mr. Kennedy signed May 5 are weighed against what might have been accomplished, it is hard to reach a clear-cut verdict. This was an historic occasion for which Secretary of Labor Goldberg, Mr. Meany of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and delegates from Congress were on hand. In its

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final form the bill gave recognition to the principle of Federal jurisdiction over industries which had hitherto maintained that they were exempt from interstate status. Adoption of the bill in its compromise form was also a reversal of an earlier House rejection of the President's $1.25 an hour minimum wage measure. Moreover, it represents the first extension of national wage-coverage of workers since 1938. So much for its general significance.

In detail, the act now means that over three and a half million of our lower-paid workers will receive increases in pay in the course of the next three years. This represents one substantial accomplishment. According to other provisions, minimum wage coverage is extended to some 3,624,000 more workers—mostly in the chain grocery, clothing and department store industries. For this newly covered group minimum pay is to be one dollar an hour for the next three years. After that they will advance in two stages to the $1.25 level (by 1965). This involves material progress for lower wage groups such as these.

On the other hand, these advances look like more on paper than they really amount to, for over four-fifths of the newly covered workers are already being paid the dollar an hour minimum or more. At the same time such notoriously poor-paying employers as laundries, hospitals, restaurants and hotels are specifically exempted from the new legislation—industrial workers most in need of Federal protection therefore will not obtain it. Mr. Kennedy had spoken feelingly of their plight during his campaign; at a recent press conference he expressed regret that they had been specifically excluded from the bill.

This was a sacrifice which Administration leaders deemed necessary to secure the needed votes. Conservative critics have taken no little pleasure in publicizing the details of these concessions that were made at the Senate-House conference at which the final provisions were ironed out. They charge the Democrats who took the lead in offering these concessions with extreme cynicism. Others, more friendly to the Administration, assert that the margin by which the bill was adopted indicates that wider coverage for those most needing it could well have been possible.

Faced with House rejection of the original legislation the Administration might have taken a different path. For the sake of those many workers who are not paid a living wage by our affluent America, Mr. Kennedy might have appealed directly to the people. In utilizing his undeniable prestige for such a purpose he could have made a strong case for the demands of social justice and stressed the relation of such action to our success in the critical cold war. Congress is so sensitive to expressions from its constituents that most often when such causes are lost general public indifference is primarily responsible. Unquestionably the nation's ill-paid workers would have been served better by pressure on Congress resulting from a Presidential appeal for public support than by resort to political concessions that will prolong the plight of so many of them indefinitely.

ENFORCING CIVIL RIGHTS

ATTORNEY GENERAL Robert F. Kennedy's forthright speech on the subject of civil rights was particularly notable in that it was delivered to the Law School of the University of Georgia. But regardless of audience, the Attorney General could hardly have been more forceful and explicit.

He defended and reaffirmed the action of the Justice Department in Prince Edward County, Va., where he has asked the courts to force the reopening of schools closed to avoid integration: "In this case—in all cases—I say to you that if the orders of the court are circumvented, the Department of Justice will act. We will not stand by or be aloof. We will move."

These words are unequivocal, and they must be reassuring to the many supporters of President Kennedy who feared that his Administration was going to relax the vigor of its campaign promises in regard to civil rights. Those who were disappointed by the inaction of the Executive branch during the Eisenhower Administration were fearful of the "moderating" influence of Vice President Johnson, the power of the South (without whose votes the Democratic party would have lost the election), the apparent disposition of the President to trim his demands in order to avoid Congressional rebellion.

The determination of the Executive to enforce all civil rights statutes will not, of course, automatically eliminate the nation's huge and stubborn problem of injustices to Negroes. But it will, we think, make a crucial difference in the rate at which the obstacles are overcome. The President's recent orders forbidding job discrimination in the fulfillment of government contracts and now his brother's resolute words on civil rights add up to at least a hopeful bit of news at a time when we need every scrap of hope we can find.

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DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN *WHAT?*

NO YEAR is really complete without at least one out-of-this-world resolution from the D.A.R. convention, but this time the ladies outdid themselves. In the field of international affairs they urged immediate withdrawal by the United States from the U.N.; in domestic matters they called for a complete halt to federal spending in the fields of education, housing and urban renewal—impressive steps backward, surely, even for the Daughters of the American Revolution.

As far as I'm concerned, though, the D.A.R.'s *pièce de résistance* for 1961 was its flat opposition to the Peace Corps—President Kennedy's proposed group of young American volunteers to serve in the underdeveloped areas. On this it was not the position taken by the D.A.R. that was surprising; it was the voting itself—2,082 against the Peace Corps, 1 for it.

The Peace Corps has its controversial and even risky aspects. I would have been surprised if the D.A.R. had come out for it. But, ladies, 2,082 to 1 is just ridiculous.

I guess I must be getting old, though; I really can't get mad at the D.A.R. anymore. I'm just happy that the nation's college students are unlikely to be much influenced by the organization's views on the Peace Corps. In fact, ever since the Peace Corps idea was put forward, Washington has been deluged with letters from students anxious to serve their country and help the underdeveloped areas, and I'm delighted.

The Peace Corps idea does have its non-D.A.R. critics, of course—many of them, oddly enough, using their own version of the Ugly American thesis. Without ever spelling it out in detail, those who argue along this line seem to have become completely convinced of American ineptitude in dealing with non-Americans. They want to protect America's image overseas, and the only way they can see to do this is to keep everybody home.

For my part, I think the Ugly American argument has been overworked in all departments. But if it is true that the only safe thing we can do is to keep Americans out of sight, we have already lost the battle for the future. If we can't trust even the cream of our colleges overseas, we might as well find it out now as later.

A second and more popular argument against the Peace Corps follows the "How can our boys be expected to live like natives?" line. To me this seems to miss the central point completely. The world will not indefinitely survive two-thirds hungry and one-third fed, and the prime danger Americans of this and the next generation face is not that some volunteers will suffer a lowered standard of living for a limited time; it is that living conditions in many parts of the world are so scandalously low that they constitute a constant threat to world peace and hence to our own survival.

Those who argue that American students cannot survive on a lesser standard of living underestimate the younger generation, I think. The fact is that during the war many of us lived worse than the Peace Corps will for long stretches. We didn't enjoy it, but we survived. If it can be done in war, why not in peace?

In any case, the program's critics are exaggerating this problem, at least as I read the Peace Corps plans. The aim is to give the young Americans in the program a standard of living comparable to that of men engaged in similar work in the countries concerned. Since most will go as teachers, as members of medical and sanitation teams, construction and agricultural experts and the like, they should not starve. And the underlying idea remains a good one; too many Americans abroad have alienated the people they worked among because they lived on a level luxurious even by normal American standards.

The health question is undoubtedly a real one. But on this too I have been impressed with the sober way Sargent Shriver and his associates in the Peace Corps program have reacted. They have tackled the problem realistically; they have not tried to pretend it does not exist. And again Peace Corps members will have one big advantage many among us did not have: it is unlikely that anyone will be shooting at them.

And here, I think, is the point of the program as far as I am concerned. It is an attempt to tackle the problem of building for peace, instead of just fighting a shooting war. In a world that grows more impersonal all the time, it is an attempt to help people in a direct and personal way. It is not and should not be an attempt to Americanize the world, but it does represent a serious effort to show the world the best of our youth and their willingness to sacrifice to help others.

For all these reasons, the Peace Corps idea strikes me as one of the most imaginative and constructive programs we have come up with in many a year. It won't solve the problem of Laos or Cuba for us at this date, true enough. But I don't think it is completely far-fetched to suggest that if we had had a program like the Peace Corps years ago, we might be in much better shape in both countries today.

No matter how dim a view the Daughters of the American Revolution may take of the Peace Corps, my feeling is that the Fathers of the Revolution would understand the idea very well, and I think they would be all for it. So am I. JAMES O'GARA.

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The Neutral Tide

The real problem now confronting the Administration is to educate our own people rather than the new nations

by DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG

THE GROWTH of neutralism has been one of the most puzzling phenomena of recent years. After World War II it seemed quite clear that the world would be divided between two giant blocs. America and Western Europe formed one. Russia, China and their satellites formed the other. Southeastern Asia, the Arab lands, Africa and Latin America were the great prizes in the conflict of the titans.

The last decade has led to a re-evaluation of this theory. Yugoslavia, excommunicated in quick ritual by Stalin, neither bowed nor became an American pawn. India maintained its stubborn way, taking with genial impartiality aid from both sides. Indonesia mouthed the phrases of "guided democracy" but refused to act like a Red satellite. Egypt developed a unique policy of anti-Communism at home and pro-Communism on the international front. And of recent years the states of Ghana, Guinea and Cuba, in crescendo order, have supported the Soviet Union while deriding critics who label them Communist.

This new philosophy of neutralism must be understood to make sense of the modern world. For John Foster Dulles, life was simple; those who supported the Communists were either immoral or agents of the devil. As a reaction to these blunt politics, the witcheries multiplied.

The new Administration, whose leaders as a welcome relief are intelligent and sensitive men, has already begun to reverse this attitude in Asia and Africa. Our policy makers face a most difficult task, since the seeds of the planting have grown high. But in a primary sense, the real problem confronting the Administration is to educate our own people, the American public rather than the new nations. We must learn to see ourselves as we look to the world rather than expect the world to accept us by our own dream image; and only then will we perceive what has made neutralism.

Mr. Friedenberg contributes frequently to this and other journals on questions of international politics.

The crux of the problem lies in an irony. The mental approach of Americans is perhaps more Marxist than any other people today, for we judge everything by economics, by the standard of living. If people make money they should be happy; if a country has a high living standard, it is a happy country. It therefore follows that if we give money or aid to people, they should be grateful to us because we are bringing them happiness.

THIS PECULIAR mental attitude can be illustrated by a series of examples. Let us compare in each of the uncommited continents the outstanding neutralist and anti-American nation with the country most dependent on the economy of the United States. The two islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico have had very similar histories. Both remained in Spanish hands long after the rest of Latin America broke with the mother country and both fell to America at the turn of the last century. Puerto Rico was physically absorbed by the United States, while Cuba was made an economic appendage of the North American mainland.

Since 1940 Puerto Rico, under the superb leadership of Muñoz Marín, has raised its per capita income from $121 a year to almost $500. The island ranks third in the world after Great Britain and the United States in the distributive shares of the national income, that percentage of the income which filters down and is spread among all classes. And the rate of economic growth, close to ten per cent, is one of the highest in the world. Since the advent of Fidel Castro, when Cuba cut off its economic dependence on the United States, the standard of living on that island has plummeted. Short years ago it was much higher than that of Puerto Rico, while today it is almost fifty per cent lower. By the frank admission of Ché Guevara, economic czar of Cuba, it will decline still more in the future.

Yet the masses of Latin America look to Cuba and not Puerto Rico as the emblem of the future! The

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American press preens itself on Puerto Rican progress, but the student masses of Mexico, Venezuela and Ecuador look to Cuba, and candidates endorsing Fidel Castro (as could be seen in so middle-class a country as Argentina in the last election) start with a tremendous swell of popular sympathy.

THE SAME situation prevails in the non-Communist lands of Farther Asia. Indonesia is a supreme example of misplanning and dismal direction. Sukarno's *sandang-pangan* (clothes and food) program is a complete failure. Despite enormous grants of money from the Soviet Union, from 1955 to 1959 the price of clothes trebled and that of food doubled. The Pandang rebellion of 1958 was a despairing move on the part of the outer islands to escape the economic oppression of Java and Sukarno's attempt to find a scapegoat in the local Chinese, whom he expelled from retail trade, has only served to worsen the situation.

Compare the limping Indonesian economy with that of Japan. In the last year alone, Japan's gross national product increased by sixteen per cent, the highest figure ever recorded by any industrial country. And this has been achieved with a rise in consumer prices of only ten per cent since 1955! To take one small item, there are more than six million television sets in Japan. Without doubt that land is the richest country in Asia.

Yet who thinks of Japan as a leader in the future evolution of Asia? Politically, the Japanese are anxiously seeking a way to make peace with China and neutralist sentiment is growing. It was the Indian people, busy receiving steel mills from Russia, who greeted former President Eisenhower with great affection; while riots in Japan prevented the President from entering the country.

The Arab world presents the same contrast. Gamal Nasser is the great hero of the Arab masses, though the economy of Egypt stumbles from bad to worse. A pro-Western leader like Habib Bourguiba, running a country whose standard of living is much higher than that of Egypt, has had to make his peace with Nasser and rejoin the Arab League. And the land with the highest standard of living and most viable democracy in the Near East is—Israel the Hated.

In Negro Africa, a similar pattern is apparent. The neutralist states of Guinea and Ghana are the leaders of the black continent. Guinea sets programs for all former French West Africa to follow, though the state is ludicrously backward in comparison with Senegal or the Ivory Coast. And it is Sekou Touré who arouses the Negro masses in the French language group, not the fading Félix Houphouet-Boigny. In the former British areas, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is the outstanding figure, though Nigeria dwarfs Ghana in a power relation in the same way that Germany dwarfs Denmark.

Such a topsy-turvy shape of things will make sense only when it is viewed against the total world picture. For Puerto Rico, Japan, Israel and Tunisia are considered either American satellites or beholden to American markets and loans, while Cuba, Indonesia and Egypt are thought free. In Negro Africa, the Ivory Coast and Senegal are viewed as French satellites and Nigeria a British satrapy, while Guinea and Ghana have been liberated.

It is impossible to understand the mentality of the newly awakened peoples without reference to their fears and aspirations. When the Mexicans and Panamanians read the charges and countercharges hurled daily between the United States and Fidel Castro, they think of their own experiences with American imperialism and not of distant events in Azerbaijan or Hungary. They know only too well how Teddy Roosevelt carved Panama out of Colombia and the absorption of Texas, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico and California from Mexico. Perhaps Fidel Castro is a dictator, they say to themselves, but he is *our* dictator, a dictator who is working for what he believes our interest, not a North American puppet like Trujillo or the despots of the banana republics.

When the Arab masses listen to Gamal Nasser, he screams in a way they understand. America is an ally of England and France. America supports Israel. Those were the countries who tried to smash Egypt when she reasserted sovereignty over her own terrain at Suez. It was Russia who intervened and forced the invaders to turn back; it was Russia who broke the Turkish power that once dominated the Arabs. An enemy of an enemy is obviously a friend.

And who came to the aid of Sekou Touré when he proclaimed independence of France? Russia again, which sent supplies to the people of Guinea when French help was withdrawn, while the United States even refused to recognize the new country in fear of alienating an ally.

Who supports the Indonesians in their constant friction with the Dutch over Netherlands New Guinea? The Communists, of course, and not America, the NATO partner of Holland. And it was obvious to all the world that American sympathy lay with the Pandang rebels when they tried to overthrow the Sukarno government.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the present world picture is the very existence of neutralism. Given West European history in Asia and Africa and U. S. history in Latin America, given the collapse of cultural and religious values as bulwarks of traditional society, given the doctrinal certainty behind orthodox Marxism and the self-confidence of the Soviet Union, future historians may be astounded that Castro's Cuba and Touré's Guinea are isolated and atypical rather than the forerunners of an irresistible tide. For there is

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growing evidence that neutralism, too, is coming of age, that strident zeal to remake society according to abstract formulas is being shaken. It is one thing for a Castro, a Sukarno, a Touré, a Nasser to seize power; it is another to be confronted with the brute facts of limited resources and a rising population. The most fanatic Mexican can see that not all Cuba's difficulties are a result of American embargo, just as the partisans of Nasser in Syria have long lost the pristine hopes of Utopia through merger with Egypt. Precisely because of the second thoughts inside neutralism, it is the obligation of Americans to understand the feelings of these people.

OF THE lessons Americans must teach themselves the first is that they have lost all moral authority in the present world. The hand of the United States in the late Cuban fiasco, the invasion of Guatemala, the support of right-wing dictators, overt racism in our South and its more subtle forms in the North, a lack of sympathy for the poor and downtrodden in backward lands: these are only a few examples of why American influence has declined. Our country has lost not only moral authority, it has lost scientific authority at the same time. We are in certain ways the "paper dragon" the Red Chinese term us. Our engineering and medical schools are falling behind our population growth. The Russians are just as advanced in science, and even ahead in specific fields. It is quite apparent that many of the scientific discoveries made of recent years in America come from the minds of foreign-born. Our atomic bombs were hatched by refugees of Hitler; our rockets from Hitler's ace. Stripped by a harsh eye, we are bereft of all but our money, our tons of gold stored in the ground—which, too, have shown a remarkable migratory instinct in the last year.

Oddly enough, the loss of moral status is a positive factor for America in the neutralist world today. Nothing is more infuriating than the Superior Man, of which the gnarled face of John Foster Dulles was so typically the irritating paragon to the lesser breeds. As America has more difficulties, she becomes more human, she rejoins the human race in an important psychologic sense.

For, with the decline of American superiority, we have seen the rise of arrogance in Russia, of which Khrushchev's performance in the last United Nations session was also symbolic. The obvious contempt, the browbeating, the vulgar attitude of the Premier of All the Russias was a healthy antidote to the myth of Soviet benevolence. And nothing hurt Fidel Castro more than his eager acceptance of Russian rocket support. The result of the decline in American authority and rise of Russian might has thus, in a profound sense, meant the decay of fanaticism. Both nations are too compromised to represent "democracy" and "Communism" as a clash of pure ideology. For the shrewd neutralists, the conflict is of power and interest from which they should try to extract maximum advantage.

The other major lesson that the United States must draw from the rise of neutralism is that the mythology behind representative democracy has forever disappeared. In the nineteenth century it seemed that our kind of democracy was the road to a higher standard of living and national freedom. But in oligarchic and primitive societies, parliaments are often used to crush the aspirations of the majority. Democracy has been so completely identified with capitalism that the tendency of new nations (and not alone the neutralists) is to assume that the multiple party system and its related rights of free press, assembly, speech and religion, are only surface phenomena of capitalism, indeed often only excreta of capitalism. The shift is from "democracy" to "industrialism"; the machine, not the legislature, is the symbol of aspiration.

The face of democracy seen by a peasant of Cuba, Indonesia, Egypt or Guinea was imperial domination for the benefit of the stock markets in Paris, London, Amsterdam and New York. It was the true face because it was the only face he knew. This led to a distrust of Westernized culture and institutions that is impossible to understand until we grasp the fact that the new leaders, in their ideologic frame, picture all Western elements as concealed instruments of imperialism.

ACTIVE HATRED of cosmopolitan intellectuals results. If the old way was bad, the old leaders and the old elite were bad too and had to be swept away to make room for new leaders and a new elite. Léopold Sédar Senghor, President of Senegal and a great French-language poet, is suspect by African Negro radicals because his mental approach is still conditioned by European values. Kofi Busia in Ghana suffers the same fate. Sutan Sjahrir, Indonesia's most renowned intellectual and former Prime Minister, has been nationally degraded. The clean sweep of the Cuban managerial and intellectual class, with rare exceptions, is too well known to need documentation.

"Westernized" or parliamentary-inclined leadership is wiped out for the same reason. Dr. Manuel Urrutia, the Cuban President set up by Castro, is now under house arrest. General Mohammed Naguib was ousted in a counter putsch by Nasser. Mohammed Hata, cosigner of the Indonesian Declaration of Independence, has been isolated by Sukarno. Félix Houphouet-Boigny's influence in Guinea has been destroyed by Touré, his former assistant.

Though all neutralists claim to be Socialists, even the classical Socialist Party, with its affinity to persuasion, compromise and European solidarity, is con-

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sidered an enemy body. In Cuba, the Communist (Popular Socialist) Party is alone permitted; even the 26th of July Movement became too suspect of traditional democratic elements to continue to exist. In Guinea and Egypt all parties are merged under the Leader. In Indonesia, the Socialist Party was banned though the Communists and Moslem Parties are still allowed.

It would seem that this is a purely Communist position assimilated to nationalism: National Communism (Yugoslavia, Cuba, Guinea) as distinguished from International Communism. This is not necessarily true, since the ultimate desire to have what we call a democratic structure is not derided but only shunted aside while "the nation catches up." And it must never be forgotten that the neutralist leaders—no matter how totalitarian and fanatic in their aims—are different in certain fundamental ways from the men of the 1930's. These are not *evil* men in the sense of Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin, with brutality and sadism being dominant strains of their nature. They represent the underdog, not the master mentality; and they usually think of internal reform in their own countries rather than external conquest.

Judging from their past histories, very few of the outstanding neutralist leaders ever had sympathy for a politic dominated by the interests of Moscow. Nasser today continues to ban Communism at home. Sukarno put down the Communist revolt in Indonesia after that country attained independence. Sekou Touré led the African trade unions out of the Red-dominated C.G.T. in disgust with Moscow's control over French labor. Raúl Roa, who daily vituperates the United States, published a violent attack on the Russian takeover of Hungary while in Mexican exile during Batista's reign. In an analysis of neutralism, it is the prefix "National" that counts more than the suffix "Socialism" or "Communism."

The mistake of American policy during the Eisenhower years was to assume the United States had a morally superior position to the Communist world that was immediately apparent to men of good will; and to further assume that all men who disagreed with this attitude were working for Moscow. The new world of neutralism belies this adolescent approach. Up to recent events in Cuba, there were indications that the Kennedy Administration—in the Congo, on the Portuguese Angola question, in the delicate issue of the Netherlands New Guinea, on the Laos matter—was beginning to understand the modern world at last. Now one can only wait and see if the dead hand of the Central Intelligence bureaucracy will drag the new President into imitating the mistakes of the past Administration.

But the ultimate question is whether the American people will come to sympathize with the world-wide revolution taking place; or stand rigid, and be snapped by the high winds of chance.

MIGRANT WORKERS

"Harvest of Shame"

by SUE KEISKER

LAST NOVEMBER 25, "C.B.S. Reports" presented the "Harvest of Shame," a thoughtful and moving examination of the situation of migrant farm workers in America. With camera and tape recorder, the program gave millions of Americans a vivid glimpse—for many their first—of the poverty and hopelessness that mark the lives of two million migrant and seasonal workers. Those who watched the program learned too that this particular group of citizens is so thoroughly shut out from the minimal protections of our social and labor laws that they are called the "excluded Americans."

"Harvest of Shame" touched off a reaction of astonishing proportions. The volume of mail elicited showed that the film had roused the consciences of its viewers as few television programs have done. Letters reaching Washington were sufficient to impel about fifty Congressmen and Senators to make prompt inquiries regarding farm labor. The network itself received thousands of communications, a virtually unprecedented response. Almost all of these messages combined praise for the program with shock at the conditions portrayed.

Predictably, the program also succeeded in provoking the wrath of the employers of farm workers. Their indignation is not hard to understand. In the absence of public concern about the conditions of farm labor and with only a few unevenly enforced laws govern-

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ing them, many farm employers had come to regard the migrant labor world as their own private domain, outside the legitimate concern of the government or other citizens. This attitude, deeply entrenched after decades of public indifference, accounts for a good deal of the outrage with which these farm employers greeted "Harvest of Shame."

This group of farmers immediately launched an attack on the accuracy of the program's findings and the integrity of its producers. The ensuing debate was carried into Congress and on to the State Department. Events reached a climax of sorts in the surprising attempt of Edward R. Murrow, on his first day as head of the United States Information Agency, to dissuade the British Broadcasting Corporation from showing the film in England.

"Harvest of Shame" revealed more than the abysmal poverty of farm workers, who can expect to earn about nine hundred dollars a year and to be out of work half the year. It made painfully clear the degree of public responsibility for their plight. The rather shocking fact is that our elected representatives, acting in our names, have refused time and again to enact legislation to ease their conditions or even to extend to them the same benefits that other workers have enjoyed since New Deal days. As the President's Committee on Migratory Labor declared last fall:

"For others have come minimum wages, unemployment insurance, the advantages of collective bargaining. . . . Most Federal social and labor legislation contains specific exemptions for farm labor, and most State and county social, labor and welfare laws provide that 'non-residents shall be ineligible,' or, like the Federal laws, exempt agricultural workers."

IT WAS NOTED in the "Harvest of Shame" that one hundred and fifty different attempts to aid farm workers had been made in Congress and that all but one had failed. As a Senator once explained, there is very little political "mileage" in defending farm workers. Former Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell elaborated. "Farm workers," he said, "have no voice in the legislative halls . . . and their employers do have a voice. Their employers are highly organized. . . ." On several occasions, Mitchell called them the "toughest" lobby he had encountered during his entire period as Labor Secretary.

The general failure of the government on any level to meet the needs of farm workers does not reflect a calloused disregard for suffering so much as it reveals the enormous and disproportionate power of certain farm interests. About five per cent of the nation's four million farmers pay more than seventy per cent of the total farm wage bill. They occupy a dominant position in agriculture, controlling about forty per cent of all farm land and sixty per cent of all farm products. Their farms, frequently owned by absentee landlords or corporations, are typically large-scale operations where hired farm workers are concentrated in work patterns that resemble the assembly line more than traditional farming. Indeed, it has been necessary to coin such new phrases as "agri-business" and "factories-in-the-field" to describe them.

The political strength of these farm interests is equally impressive and out of proportion to their numbers. It depends only in part on the heavy representation given rural areas, for their access to power is far from a simple and direct reflection of their economic position. Rather, their influence on farm policies depends upon a skillful manipulation of Americans' cherished belief that agriculture is a way of life different from and better than other occupations, something far removed from the clash of interests that marks urban industrial life. To gain support for policies and practices that undermine the values this belief represents, spokesmen for farm employers play upon our attachment to the family farm system. Chief spokesman for these interests is the American Farm Bureau Federation, which has a consistent record of opposition to all efforts to help farm workers, as well as to virtually all other liberal policies.

A standard argument against measures that would benefit farm workers is that such proposals would hurt the family farmer. This is a cruel, but thus far effective, pretense. The truth is that family farmers are engaged in rather intense competition with the large-scale farmers who depend upon hired labor and get it for bargain prices. The National Farmers Union, the largest organization representing the interests and well-being of family farmers, has compiled extensive evidence showing the depressive effects of low farm wages on the earnings of family farmers, most of whom hire little or no labor. As N.F.U. President James G. Patton recently pointed out, "These low wages have in effect placed a ceiling on what farm operators earn per hour for their labor." An earlier statement by another Farmers Union official, who was arguing against the annual importation by this country of hundreds of thousands of Mexican contract farm workers, was even more explicit:

"Farmers have learned that it is the existence of a ready supply of cheap labor which has contributed so greatly to the growth and vaunted efficiency of the corporation farm. The presence of a plentiful and docile supply of itinerant labor, which can be turned on or off, as the need develops, by regional Government officials sympathetic and attentive to the demands of large growers, canners, packers and processors, represents a threat to the well-being of all family farmers. It cheapens the value of their labor and that of their families. And when one considers that many small farmers work as farm labor during certain seasons,

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the added damage to their already insecure economic position becomes obvious."

THE MEXICAN Farm Labor Program is a notable instance of federal policy which injures domestic farm workers and gives their employers unique privileges. The program guarantees them a labor surplus, a situation which always has a depressive effect on wages.

The labor importation program is one of the factors that has insulated farm employers from the considerations that all other employers have to make. Another is that past efforts to organize farm workers have failed. Farm employers therefore have never had to worry about, much less become accustomed to, collective bargaining. While this helps to explain why farm wages are low, it does not account for the increasing gap between farm and factory wages. In 1946 farm workers received close to fifty per cent of the wage received by factory workers. In 1958 their average wage equalled only about thirty-five per cent of the wage paid factory workers. More useful for understanding the declining position of farm labor is the fact that the federal government, by authorizing the importation of foreign workers, has guaranteed farm employers an endless supply of workers. Thus farm employers alone do not have to offer attractive wages and conditions to find workers.

In the furor over "Harvest of Shame" the substantive issues raised have largely been passed by and the debate rages over rather peripheral matters. Soon after the program, the Farm Bureau released a "detailed analysis of the more obvious misrepresentations contained in the broadcast." The "evidence" submitted to support this charge turns out, on examination, to be little more than a series of misleading or irrelevant assertions. Statistical data are presented with a singular disregard for their meaning or applicability. The Farm Bureau attack focused on four points: the precise number of migrants; the level of farm wages; the number of migrant children who have college degrees; and the extent of progress.

Great significance is attached to the fact that U.S. Department of Labor statistics put the number of migrant workers at about four hundred thousand. "Harvest of Shame" had said that there were two to three million migrants. Unlike the U.S.D.L. figure, however, the figure of the film's producer David Lowe included not only the number of domestic migratory workers but an estimate of their dependents and also the number of foreign migrants. The Farm Bureau objection obscures the fact that the number of seasonal farm workers, whose situation so far as wages and employment go differs little from that of the migrants, is over two million, not counting their dependents who must also be supported on this income.

Farm employers were particularly disturbed by an interview with a woman who said she had worked ten hours and earned only a dollar. The Farm Bureau claims the program tried to imply that this wage was typical, but an examination of the script, preserved in the Congressional Record of January 23, shows this charge is false. Not only were other and higher wages cited, but the program pointed out that the woman had earned this unusually low sum because picking conditions were bad that day and she was, as many farm workers are, being paid on a piece-rate basis. Immediately following their attack on the one-dollar-a-day incident, the Farm Bureau introduced some U.S. Department of Agriculture statistics on farm wages. Interestingly enough, these figures did not refer to the area where the woman was working but rather to the West Coast, which pays the highest farm wages in the country. Moreover, in their explanation of the meaning of these figures, the Farm Bureau asserted that they substantially understated real earnings because they failed to consider piece-rates or perquisites (such as company housing).

However, the Department of Agriculture states that while piece-rates are too varied to be reported, they are taken into account in figuring the composite hourly rate, one of the statistics included in the Farm Bureau quotation. The Department adds that the assumption is made that piece-rates and hourly rates are roughly equal. As for perquisites, such as they are, they may be provided free of charge but frequently migrants are charged for them. Around the time when most of the film was shot, the composite hourly rate for the South Atlantic region, where the one-dollar-a-day incident occurred, was 59.7 cents an hour, a good deal below the comparable figure from the Pacific Region, $1.184, the hourly rate which was cited in the Farm Bureau paper.

In the roundup of farm wage averages released by the Agriculture Department in January 1961, it was noted that the barely perceptible rise in the national composite hourly rate—from 89.6 cents as of January 1960 to the 90.9 cents of a year later—was the smallest increase in five years. A report on farm employment in 1959, issued by the Department in the fall of 1960, stated that average cash daily earnings of all farm workers "held at $6.00 approximately the same as the last three or four years." These averages suggest that the rate of progress in the fundamental area of income is less than breathtaking.

THE FARM BUREAU "refutation" of "Harvest of Shame" is weakest in its discussion of migrant children. The fact that child labor—legal and illegal—is rampant in agriculture is completely ignored. Every year U.S. Department of Labor investigators find more violations of the federal child labor law in agriculture

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than in any other occupation. This is all the more striking in view of the fact that the legal restriction of child labor in agriculture is limited to school hours. When school is not in session, children of any age may be hired in agriculture, the fourth most hazardous occupation in the country. Some twenty states have no minimum age in agriculture whether during or outside of school hours.

The health problems of these children are similarly ignored in the Farm Bureau "analysis." Yet the American Academy of General Practice reports nearly five times as many cases of amoebic dysentery among migrant children as among the same number of urban children, about four times as much whooping cough, and forty-four times as much diarrhea. A recent survey of migrant health studies around the country found that migrant children only rarely receive shots for smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio.

"Harvest of Shame" had pointed out that the education of these children is irregular and inadequate. It stated that no record had been found of a migrant child graduating from college. The Farm Bureau uses the discovery of a handful of migrant graduates as proof of deliberate distortion. In their original document on the program they report that at least one hundred children of migrants have received college degrees. Apparently this estimate was a little generous, for the version of the Farm Bureau report introduced into the Congressional Record of February 16 omits this reference. Senator Spessard Holland of Florida, when attacking the telecast in the Senate on February 7, did cite the names of twelve migrant children who had indeed graduated from college.

Whatever the number of college graduates among migrants, it is too insignificant for the government to record. There are, however, official statistics on school grade retardation among migrants. In 1960, Labor Department investigators surveyed this condition among all children found illegally employed on farms. Nearly seventy per cent of migrant children surveyed were enrolled in grades below normal for their age. The rate of retardation increased with age so that over ninety per cent of fifteen-year-old migrants were behind in school.

It should be quite evident that the Farm Bureau's claim of significant progress in improving conditions among farm workers is hardly descriptive of reality. To be sure, there has been some progress. Some farm workers received belated coverage under the Old Age and Survivor's Insurance Act in 1954, but the next Congress reduced even this partial coverage. A few states have initiated some remedial action, usually in the area of housing which though important is hardly as basic as wages, employment and bargaining rights. Some states have taken other steps as well but the crucial fact remains that farm workers still average about nine hundred dollars a year and are still the "excluded Americans."

Some months ago, Msgr. George G. Higgins, head of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, observed that the best hope for farm workers lay in their unionization. For the past two years, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has been carrying on a concerted campaign in California to establish collective bargaining in agriculture. They have met with bitter resistance from large-scale farmers, as was to be expected in the home state of corporation farming. Still, the union has won impressive gains with field workers throughout entire crop areas receiving wage increases of twenty-five and thirty-five cents an hour. It should be noted that even such dramatic wage hikes only brought their earnings up to $1.25 an hour.

There are many other signs of increased interest in farm workers. Nearly thirty states have set up official committees to study their problems. On the federal level, the President's Committee on Migratory Labor, an inter-Cabinet agency, received permanent status just last year and recommended a host of reform measures. There is now a U.S. Senate Subcommittee whose specific jurisdiction is migratory labor. Its chairman, Senator Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey, recently introduced a series of bills to meet the varied needs of farm workers.

One of these bills would establish a minimum wage applying to farms hiring a large seasonal labor force. Another would prohibit farm employment, outside of school hours, for children under fourteen years of age. Still another would guarantee the right of farm workers to organize and bargain collectively, and give them access to the National Labor Relations Board. Among the other bills are proposals to provide grants to help states meet the costs of extending health, education and day-care facilities to migrant children and adults. Also pending is a bill to reform the Mexican Farm Labor Program to end its restrictive effects on the wages and employment opportunities of domestic workers.

Passage of these bills would finally extend to farm workers their long overdue status as equal members of our society. These bills would not suddenly transform their situation, but they would establish conditions under which farm workers themselves could begin to better their lives. Until this happens, we would do well to remember the words with which Edward R. Murrow concludes the "Harvest of Shame":

"The migrants have no lobby. Only an enlightened, aroused and perhaps angered public opinion can do anything about the migrants. The people you have seen have the strength to harvest your fruits and vegetables. They do not have the strength to influence legislation. Maybe we do."

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THE SCREEN

WHAT DID YOU HAVE IN MIND?

SOMETIMES it is more than a little difficult to figure out what a producer is after in a certain film. It would be almost too cynical and easy for the reviewer to suggest that the answer is money—but too often the commercial aspects of the movie are more obvious than anything else. French producer Raoul J. Levy, who has done financially well with his brightest star, Brigitte Bardot, no doubt aimed at something artistic in "The Truth," and his hiring Henri-Georges Clouzot to direct would indicate that he wanted something more than simply another movie with the sex kitten. And the theme provides real opportunities, for the film seems to be saying that the truth even in a court of law depends on how the participants, the witnesses, the lawyers, the accused, and the judge himself, see it.

Unfortunately "The Truth," which runs over two hours, is repetitive and pretentious. Although it is very well directed by Clouzot, who has steered Brigitte Bardot in what is her best performance, one that is good by any movie standards, this French film keeps making the same point over and over—that its central character, a voluptuous nymphomaniac who was unloved by her family at home and came to Paris to lead her own life, is on trial for murder and not for her immorality. The screenplay, written by Clouzot and three other scriptwriters, is set mainly in the courtroom, but it uses plenty of flashbacks to illustrate the girl's promiscuous behavior among the New Wave gang on the Left Bank. Since the plot has more decoration than suspense, the bedroom antics of the sensual girl and the long-running quarrels between her and her lover (Sami Frey) become tiresome. The main theme in "The Truth" merits attention but not endless illustration. Fellini could have covered it in one episode in "La Dolce Vita," which is where it belongs.

IT WAS producer Jerry Wald, whose pictures include "Sons and Lovers," "The Glass Menagerie," "Johnny Belinda" *and* the twenty-million-dollar-grossing "Peyton Place," who suggested to Grace Metalious that she write a sequel to her best seller. Write it she did, and now Wald has turned it into a movie. This reviewer cannot tell who was right and who was wrong in all the rowing between Grace and Jerry over the filming of the movie; but "Return to Peyton Place" is probably one of the silliest films to turn up in years. It opens with some lovely shots of a New England town while Rosemary Clooney's voice sings to us about "the wonderful season of love." Then the film plunges into the story of Allison MacKenzie and some of the other characters of the original movie, as well as several newcomers, all of whom contribute to the involved plot. Under José Ferrer's direction, a new cast play the characters who reappear from "Peyton Place." This is no more than right. Since Allison (Carol Lynley), who wanted to be a writer in the last film, has now finished her novel, called *Samuel's Castle,* it is patently *Peyton Place* that is worked over by a New York publisher (Jeff Chandler) who wants to be Allison's Maxwell Perkins.

Needless to say, Allison's novel creates a sensation —not only in Peyton Place where readers recognize themselves and the other characters, but everywhere else too, where readers of its racy passages cause it to become a best seller. Allison's mother (Eleanor Parker) is furious because she thinks Allison has stirred up town dirt. Allison's stepfather (Robert Sterling), the high school principal, loses his job because he insists the book should be kept in the library. The town's matriarch and arbiter of morals, an evil old witch played to the hilt by Mary Astor, already working overtime to separate her son (Brett Halsey) from his pregnant bride (Luciana Paluzzi), leads the opposition to the principal. And Allison's good friend, Selena, (Tuesday Weld), whose story of her murder of the stepfather who raped her is revealed in the book, goes berserk and knocks out the town's new ski instructor (Gunnar Hellstrom) with a poker. Fortunately a town meeting clears the air and there is a firm stand against censorship and hypocrisy. The citizenry do not, alas, take a stand against nonsensical dramas like this which hope to cash in on their predecessor's success.

IF PRODUCER Julian Blaustein really intended to make a faithful movie from Sylvia Ashton-Warner's sensitive and unusual novel *Spinster,* he should have made a delicately-tender film, not the heavy-handed affair he turned out in "Two Loves." Shirley MacLaine tries to do her best with the role of the spinsterish but dedicated New Zealand school teacher who's devoted to her forty youngsters, mostly Maori, and insists on using her own unconventional methods of pedagogy. But when Laurence Harvey, another teacher whose methods are even wackier than Shirley's, insists that she take him on as a lover, the script gets completely out of hand.

As the school inspector stuck with these unconventional teachers in a decidedly unconventional land, Jack Hawkins attempts to instill a little order in all the irregular goings-on. Harvey, however, with his neurotic behavior and suicidal threats, is too much for Hawkins as well as for overworked Shirley. And when Shirley blames herself for Harvey's death, Hawkins conveniently divorces his wife so he can end Shirley's spinsterish state. Perhaps a book like *Spinster* is better read than visualized. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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"A Woman's Place"

Silver Spring, Md.

TO THE EDITORS: In "A Woman's Place" [April 28] Doris Grumbach shares one trait with the women she attacks: superficiality and an inability to look at the question of the Intellectual Woman as Mother in any but the most conventional light. Indeed, it has been my experience that Catholics, especially the clergy, tend to dismiss the genuine conflicts between maternity and intellectuality with appropriate homilies on the vocation of motherhood and the responsibilities of the married state. Behind this dismissal is a genuine fear of the intelligent woman, a fear which leads to denial of her very existence.

As I read Mrs. Grumbach's essay, my sympathies went out to the families of the restless intelligent women who are being advised to give their all in the home. Here is the Matriarch Redivivus, her emotional hold reinforced by all the resources which art, philosophy, psychology and anthropology can give. Will her children ever escape this formidable mother or will they remain prisoners of her thwarted ambitions? And if they do struggle free, will they grant her the "lasting status" Mrs. Grumbach assures the mother as her reward? I suspect that the day when children grant their mothers such status will come, if at all, only slightly before the Day of Judgment; until then, I fear, mother will have to content herself with unspoken rewards.

But, says Mrs. Grumbach, she need not depend entirely on her family. She can study classical languages, philosophy, science and economics to stimulate and refresh her mind, fill her empty hours as the children grow older. One sees the housewife, children in noisy tow, discussing Greek meters over the coffee cups with the housewife down the street—you know the one, the blonde who is presently raving about the greatness of *Exodus* . . . ah, yes, that one!

Failing intellectual companionship in her intriguing daily life, the housewife may turn to the arts, which Mrs. Grumbach speaks of as "interior decoration." My suspicions about the inevitable dilettantism of women who "take up" the arts are only confirmed by Mrs. Grumbach's phrase. Better put up your jellies, my dear, quilt your quilts and watch your television programs in tranquillity than use the arts as "interior decoration." They are serious disciplines, demanding much even in appreciation, or they are nothing at all.

Unhappily, there *is* a deep conflict between the demands of home life and of a profession or art seriously practiced. Achievement in artistic or professional endeavors depends on uninterrupted hours of work and disciplined concentration on one goal.

However, the reluctant housewife is daily faced with fragmentation, with an endless series of demands which have little to do with any intellectual training: shoes to be tied, mud pies to be made, puzzles to be arranged, rooms to be dusted, sheets to be mended, messes to be cleaned. Somebody must do these things, to be sure, but it is putting rather too much sugar on the pill to claim that this life of bits and pieces can satisfy the mind accustomed to intellectual or artistic work. When the children are of an age to care about their mother's interests, they are beyond the range of primary care and need her less precisely when she has the most to offer them.

Exhortations to find oneself in the bosom of the family cannot hide the conflict nor convince women who are suffering as a result of it that they are not suffering, merely deluding themselves through mistaken pride. That the vocation of motherhood can be rich and fruitful, no one will deny; but, why must it exclude a complementary vocation as teacher, doctor, writer? Neither the priestly nor the religious vocation is construed so narrowly; indeed, many of the luminaries of the Catholic world are priests and nuns who have been able to pursue a dual vocation. Why penalize the intellectual woman who also wants children by limiting her to the one vocation and suggesting dilettantism or putative community service as a sop for her extra energies?

The answers to this pocket of unhappiness will not be found in the realm of conventional homilies. But before answers are found, questions must be asked, questions more pertinent than those I have seen asked to date. I would like to propose some of the following as objects of serious inquiry:

1. What has been the effect on Israeli kibbutz children of their communal living away from constant contact with their parents?
2. How is the development of Scandinavian children who attend state nursery schools affected by their absence from their mothers during the day?
3. Upper-class children typically see little of their parents. Do they suffer from this deprivation? How? Why?
4. Working-class mothers, at all times and in all

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places, have been compelled to work beside their menfolk. What has happened to their children? Are they all delinquents?

5. In the past, middle-class mothers turned child care over to nursemaids whenever finances permitted (see the hordes of 19th century autobiographies). Did their children suffer? How? Why?
6. What happened to children raised jointly by maiden aunts, grandmothers and mothers in the large Victorian family?
7. When did our present idea begin that children thrive best under the undivided care of one woman—mother—all the time? Is our present pattern of family living the best, the only possible, eternal one? Must we deny the talents and abilities of a small, but substantial, proportion of our women to perpetuate this pattern?

Paul Goodman calls for a resurgence of genuine Utopian thinking in place of our present-day bland acceptance of our way of life as the only possible one, capable of being buffed up a bit here or polished a little there, but really quite perfect in its essence. I very much doubt whether the problem of the intelligent woman with children will even begin to be solved without some of this Utopian thinking. Mrs. Grumbach's stand-pat solution is no solution at all to at least one reader.

MICHELE MURRAY.

Jamaica, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: May I add a word to Doris Grumbach's thoughtful article "A Woman's Place" [April 28]? Perhaps I should begin by saying that I read it in between greeting and snacking my son from school, untangling my four-year-old from a bicycle wheel, and soothing the dinner.

Like so many women of my generation I have given much thought to "a woman's place." Like them, I've longed for time to read more books, as well as dust them. I've been a nursing mother, a working mother, and an over-worked mother. Can a college, a parent, or anyone, teach what life itself must teach? Demanding as housework is on the energies, it allows much time for the contemplative life, but I can't see that anyone could have convinced me of this ten years ago. It's a conclusion reached by a variety of experiences and years of reflection!

I never went to college, but by my twenty-first birthday had worked on three continents as a member of the United Nations staff. Shortly thereafter, on the fourth continent, I met my husband-to-be. During those early, full years, when time allowed, thoughts turned to a husband and children ("eventually") but youthful optimism certainly dimmed my view of how little time would be left for other things already loved.

Granted that education should result in a well-trained mind, able to turn effectively inward for interior growth and outward for the general good, it is over-simplification to hand the total job to the colleges. The ideal that resulted in institutions of higher learning—for the few as a beginning—is now confronted by a crowded society which demands technical training, the diploma. . . . If the aforementioned mind goes with it, fine, but let's see the record of training first!

There is little doubt that colleges can make an enormous contribution, but ought we not to include those other influences on the young, the cultivated parents, for instance, who can show the way towards learning and understanding by doing just that? And society itself, helped now we hope by the charming example of intellect and womanliness in the White House. (Who had hope left for anything other than the sickly slick magazine how-to-make-your-marriage-work, or, if-you-are-clever, hide-it-from-him?)

Perhaps the modern wife and mother with a good mind must go through her winter of discontent (and incidentally, regain her old strength as babies grow) to appreciate fully her role and its rewards. If she sprang eagerly from her desk to the laundry the permanence and depth of her "adjustment" might be in question.

PATRICIA BUCKLEY.

Riverside, Ill.

TO THE EDITORS: Mrs. Grumbach's position makes more sense than those who desire women to be drafted for serviceable labor or else who are worried by the waste of women's brains; but she has, I think, mingled the problems of two classes of people, and laid the general responsibility at the wrong doorstep.

The general mass of educated women which all these articles treat comprise business and college women. One must eliminate from the class of educated women, the women of commerce, nurses, technicians, for though they have acquired necessary and satisfying knowledges and skills, those are not educative in value for the human person. When these women turn from professional life to that of raising children, they may have various dissatisfactions; inability to use their skills, feeling the want of the general esteem our society accords those engaged in profitable work, or finding a lack of the regularity and orderliness common to their former state. These are problems which higher education cannot directly handle, and must be settled according to the values of the individual.

By the general mass of educated women, I mean those who have received a liberal education, who have had the opportunity to read widely and deeply in philosophy, history, literature, science and mathematics. The liberal education is the free one, endeavoring to train no man for a specific task but only to train him for himself. Now if a woman does require what Mrs.

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Grumbach says few colleges make any effort to give her, "a clear understanding of the uses of her trained mind," then she has missed the point of her work. She asks from her studies what they cannot in themselves give; she has fallen into the heresy of making education useful. Her practical nature wishes to bring it all to an end, to see results, to bring the bread out of the oven for admiration and tasting.

But if a woman is truly educated these are the fruits which she can offer. "It is the education which gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility. It shows him how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them." ("Knowledge and Professional Skill," *The Idea of a University,* John Henry Cardinal Newman.)

This is fine equipment indeed with which to come to a family.

During her married life, books, music, art may be her necessary companions, but she can also skilfully read from the text of life, help the child to interpret, and give him very surely much of her view. Certain women may find it possible, necessary and pleasurable to have a career along with their family life. This may be the fruition of a talent, but certainly not the expected result of a liberal education.

If a woman needs such reassurance that the role of a mother is important, so that she will not end her days in "frustration and whimpering," I suggest that her observation of life and powers of reflection are weak, or that the immaturity arises from other causes. But the wise college and a true education have not failed her, she has more likely failed them.

VERA ZIVNY.

OF NOTE

Communist Revival in England

IN A RECENT issue of *Blackfriars* (34 Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1, $4.50), Douglas Hyde discusses the recent growth of Communism in Great Britain. Substantial excerpts from Mr. Hyde's article, entitled "Communist Revival and Christian Opportunity," follow:

After several years of decline, the British Communist Party is steadily growing in numbers and influence. The numbers involved are not, as yet, very great but the upward trend has been maintained for a sufficient length of time for it to be of some significance. The form it is taking and, more particularly, what appears to be its underlying causes, should however cause Christians to stop and think. . . .

Many of the young workers who have joined the Party are employed (or unemployed) in such industries as railways, mines and engineering, all of which currently have their own particular problems. Unemployment, that old enemy of the working class and friend of Communism, exists, or is a threat, in each. Frustration clearly plays a part in the making of young Communists in these industries. It certainly plays a big part among the youngsters who are going into the Young Communist League. The decline of the apprenticeship system, the dead-end character of many of the jobs which working-class boys and girls are obliged to take, are exploited to the full by the Y.C.L. The League is voicing the understandable discontent of the type of young worker who is intelligent enough not to let his frustration drive him into becoming a teddy-boy or young gangster.

So far as these recruits to Communism are concerned, capitalism has little to offer them personally, despite full employment and our much-publicized affluence, and so, arguing from their own particular cases, they make a general condemnation of the system as a whole. At one time this might, of course, have simply turned them into Labor militants. Today, in these cases, it does not. They turn to Communism instead. They, and the other young workers now coming into the Communist Party itself, tend to be completely disillusioned with the Labor Party. Or, to be more correct, they never had any "illusions" about it. It has never even occurred to them that Labor might have anything to offer young workers. They feel they have little in common with middle-class intellectuals of the Gaitskell-Crosland type. Labor's Left, they find, is so confused and so divided that it has no appeal for them either. The Communist Party's campaigns make it appear to them to be the natural place for an intelligent young worker with an itch for action and who is look-

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ing for some group which will speak clearly and unitedly about the urgent issues of our day.

The Party's campaigns against the near-farce of civil defense, against NATO bases and missiles in Britain, its well-organized deputations to Parliament and elsewhere on behalf of the sectional interests of various groups of workers, have also contributed to the idea that here is a militant alternative to a muddled and middle-class Labor Party. While it is true that many workers become Socialists and Communists as a result of their own personal experience of capitalism in practice, it is also true that many others are attracted by something much deeper than the purely economic, "bread-and-butter" appeal. . . .

Throughout the post-war years of full employment the voice of moral protest has been muted. It seemed that there was little to protest against. Moral indignation, which had always played an important part in the thought and practice of the Socialist and Communist movements, was at a discount. Talk about a collapsing capitalism at a time when the standard of life of the majority of people was higher than it had ever been before sounded unreal. It seemed pointless to declaim against social injustice when most people would have to look very hard and long to find any of its victims. Life was not easy for the Communist Party. But full employment and our relatively high standard of life have led to the age of "we never had it so good" and "I'm all right, Jack."

There were many sensitive people who felt at the time that there was something fundamentally ignoble about the 1930's, still more who see that that was so today. Now there are the beginnings of a realization that there may already be something ignoble about the 1960's too. With Hiroshima and Nagasaki not far behind us, and the threat of other and much worse Hiroshimas and Nagasakis overhanging us, the present growth of materialism, complacency and political apathy seem to thoughtful members of a new generation inexcusable and positively indecent. . . .

In such circumstances it is not the worst type of young worker or intellectual who is attracted to Communism. Some of the things which the new Marxists are saying might well, and better, be said by Christians. For the first time in man's history, for example, he has the scientific and technological means to end hunger. Yet there are more hungry people in the world today than there were in 1945. Taking the global view, we still have poverty in the midst of plenty with contrasts as great as existed in the West in Marx's day.

Our precariously poised prosperity is based on a peace bought with nuclear weapons, the cost of which, diverted into constructive channels, might set the under-privileged two-thirds of mankind on the way to a better life. Our Welfare State and social security still leave some tragic pockets of forgotten men and women. . . . It may be that the voice of protest should be heard again. . . .

Many Catholics were ready to speak out loud and shrill against the publication of *Lady Chatterly's Lover* on the grounds that this reflected a decline in public morality. They have not always spoken as loudly, nor with the same uninhibited enthusiasm, when the word "hunger" was mentioned. Nor, perhaps, has their awareness of the real nature of our growing materialism been as acute as it might have been.

In these circumstances it is almost inevitable that some of those who feel themselves to be, or want to be, "on the side of righteousness" and who are sickened by our present smugness are beginning to look outside Christian circles in their search for solutions to pressing problems. . . .

Absence of social analysis, exposure and protest in contemporary life and literature is almost certainly helping to push some of the young intellectuals of the sixties in the direction of Marxism. A new Marxist Left which belongs neither to the Labor Party nor to the Communist Party has come into existence since the Hungarian People's Rising. Communist Party writers criticize it but do not condemn it outright. It provides an introduction to Marxism, a bridge over which young intellectuals can pass into the Communist Party itself. . . .

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The movement's appeal has been based almost entirely upon the demand for nuclear disarmament and upon protest at the decline of moral and cultural values in a "declining capitalism." *Out of Apathy,* a book produced by a group of its leaders and intended as the first of a series, leaves its readers with the impression that we may, after all, be not so far from that inglorious, final crisis of capitalism which the Communists prematurely foretold in the 1930's. Our very affluence, accompanied as it is by the betrayal of the moral and spiritual values for which our society is supposed to stand, may, it is suggested, be but the prelude to the ultimate collapse. "The New Left" quotes as evidence of our social decadence the way in which our bourgeois society, against its own precepts, is guilty of precisely those things with which we charge the Communists.

Here is a typical, and in its own way telling, example of the way it goes: Defenders of the present system condemn Communism for its contempt for the individual and for what it does to the minds of men. But the thinking, the demands, the artificially-created wants of large masses of our people today are shaped and molded by slick publicity and advertising men acting on behalf of Big Business. Unilever can spend £83 million on advertising—which is twice the amount spent by Government on colonial development and welfare. . . .

This making and molding of public opinion, say the new Marxists, reflects, too, the false values and hypocrisy of our day.

These beginnings of a new turn to Marxism have lessons for us which need to be learned now. It is not to our credit that the people who are most forcefully and insistently drawing attention to the evils in our midst are ones who are outside the Christian fold. Nor is it sufficient simply to try to laugh off the paradox of men who are in revolt against the materialism of our day turning to dialectical materialism in their search for an answer to it. Too many Christians have accepted these evils without even recognizing them as such. There has probably never been a more materialistic aim than that of "keeping up with the Joneses." Yet this has in effect been accepted by practically the whole of suburbia and most of the working-class. . . .

It is in accord with the Church's teaching that men and women should strive for social justice and that they have a right to a standard of life which enables them to live in decency and to be able to put something aside for a rainy day. There is nothing in the Church's teaching, so far as I am aware, to suggest that man has an inalienable human right to an ever-rising standard of life—least of all when others are living in hunger, poverty and ignorance on the other side of a fast-shrinking world. It may well be that we need to get our own values straightened out. When we do this, and make them clear for all to hear, the questioning young men and women with active social consciences may begin to turn to an authentic Christian social teaching for inspiration instead of to Marxism. My own experience leads me to believe that no normal man or nation will, all other things being equal, knowingly choose Marxism in preference to Christianity. The trouble is that too often the other things are not equal.

BOOKS

A Reassessment of G. K. Chesterton

CHESTERTON: MAN AND MASK. By Garry Wills. Sheed and Ward. $4.50.

By THOMAS P. McDONNELL

A BOOK about Chesterton ought at least to pay him the tribute of its own congeniality of style. But Garry Wills, while occasionally lucid and even felicitous, is all too frequently turgid. One cannot tell from reading this book that the author ever really enjoyed a single moment in Chesterton. And that is the pity, because Chesterton did not suffer the reputation of a completely joyless man. Further, it is certain, were he living today, that he would not willingly submit to any process of the mind which would attempt to reduce him to the product of a thesis—or to such language as this: "The Chestertonian dialectic is a transition from mere syllogistic exercises to this creative conflict of metaphysical paradox." We ourselves, of course, have become more or less conditioned to this sort of thing; it is part of the furniture, the recognizable décor in today's design for significant analysis. Oddly enough, as a matter of insight into his subject, it does not occur to Wills that Chesterton would have loathed our present perversion of the language.

The point is, to be necessarily unkind, that Garry Wills' book is literally beside the point. It all but ignores the only relevance that Chesterton ever had. For it is at last rather pathetic to try to make of Chesterton anything more profound than a distinguished and copious man of letters, and he was all that. He was a writer. He was not a great mind, as Wills would have it, but a highly intelligent and various one. One cannot say, for instance, that he is present to us in the same way that Newman is. In almost every respect in which Wills would rescue Chesterton from modern indifference, we can find our own more powerful counterparts speaking to us in terms, if not more satisfying, then at least more meaningful to the contemporary situation. We do not need a restatement of Chesterton but an

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answer to why, only twenty-five years removed, he has so little claim upon us.

The reluctance of Wills to deal with Chesterton primarily as a writer leads inevitably to a breakdown in the cogency of his own literary criticism—that is, to the extent it is practiced. It is one of his main contentions that Chesterton has been distorted into a number of meaningless caricatures. But Wills is capable of committing his own distortions: picayunish sideswipes at Whitman, which reveal nothing of Whitman and little of Chesterton; a downgrading of Belloc that is as inexcusable as it is difficult to understand; and the astonishing *faux pas* of attempting to place "The White Horse" on a level with "The Ancient Mariner." From evidence like this, one can only conclude that Wills has assumed in Chesterton's behalf the lugubrious role of privy councillor.

If there is scant basis here for literary criticism, then what is Wills up to? It is difficult to know, because he does not himself seem sure of his purpose, and therefore comes to quietly bewildering conclusions. It is well known that Chesterton's early Liberalism (significantly capitalized) was as vacuous as his later conservatism was naive. But what are we to make of Wills' apparent fondness for Chestertonian simplification, that our "refusal to see that Prussia was Prussia led, eventually, to World War II"? Or the *non-sequitur* that the "nightmare poems of Chesterton's youth, in which all the faces turned toward one are one's own, reflect the ideal toward which internationalists aspire." Or that "Modern Liberalism has used feminism and state education to bastion its theoretical equality, and the last stage of this scheme is, in the modern vision, the reduction of all national and social differences." Still more, that American labor unions have become so vast and powerful that we must "return to local and divided sovereignty." Yes, there's a great deal wrong with the world, as Chesterton once pointed out, but a case for improvement does not seem likely in a discipleship which yearns for the solid old boundaries and guildship of the past.

Finally, Garry Wills leaves us with Belloc's observation that the future reputation of Chesterton may depend largely upon the willingness of his readers to think. But that remark, no doubt sincere on Belloc's part, may be more subtle than Wills has taken it to be. In another reference, however, he has had the good taste and discernment to mention Michael Mason's treatment of Chesterton in *The Centre of Hilarity*. It is quite possible, for the present, that this is as much as we need of a critical paraphernalia on Chesterton.

Poetic Apologia

POETRY AND EXPERIENCE. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin. $4.50.

By JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN

THIS LONG ESSAY is more than Mr. MacLeish's poetic credo; it is, in a sense, his apologia, and serves as impersonal answer to the attacks to which for some years he was subjected.

In the book's early analyses, Mr. MacLeish reasons lucidly and keenly, but his obsession with the poet as political man keeps popping up like a King Charles' head; in the second half of the book, his apparition takes over, with unfortunate results.

MacLeish is at his best in the discussion of those subtle but tough relationships which are basic to the very nature of poetry, and of the necessity for finding the poem's order and truth *within* the poem, since their very essence changes when they are extracted. "The structure of meanings in poetry may be not only a structure of disorder which emotion brings to order, but a structure of untruth which emotion brings to truth."

But one becomes uneasily aware that under all Mr. MacLeish's argument runs the effort—later overt—to bring us to conclusions which we accept conditionally, only to have them shade almost imperceptibly into opinions which we cannot accept at all. No sooner have we acceded to the "universal analogy" as the basis of all true poetry, than we find we have somehow endorsed the poet's taking public political stance, as *poet;* just as we find "love of country"—that indescribable complex, with its subterranean and mysterious roots—has without warning equated itself with "love of the republic," a quite different if wholly admirable thing. Mr. MacLeish tips his hand when he backs the "universal analogy" test *"because"* (italics his), he says, it will "make sense of experience." This is his true theme—poetry as a sort of preceptress, obligated to seize experience in order to make it have applicable meaning for us. He gives dire (but second-rate) examples of the "all for poetry" school: "With Symons it was women. With Lionel Johnson it was wine." This is going to get us nowhere: when Mr. MacLeish tries to impose this view on the history of poetry, his case collapses. It is simply impossible to affix to the savage and fiery list of the greatest poets the label "most useful citizens" in the worldly or political sense in the phrase.

It all boils down to Mr. MacLeish's conception of the poet as the man whose "labor is to struggle with the meaninglessness and silence of the world until he can force it to mean . . ." which he sets against Rimbaud's concept of the poet as instrument in the hands of poetry. He quotes, (with an apparent startling miscomprehension,) Maritain's comments on Rimbaud. What he seems not to realize here is that Rimbaud—for all his self-conscious diabolism—as a mystic of poetry, has one basic belief in common with the mystics of religion whom Mr. MacLeish regards with such true stupefaction: that the poet, far from being the active hero who forces meaning upon the world, is the recipient of an illumination. "Tant pis pour le bois qui se trouve violin," says Rimbaud. "So much the better for the wood which finds itself violin," says the mystic.

Matters grow worse when Mr.

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MacLeish buttresses his argument by imposing it upon poets: "Dante took sides in the political ructions of most of the cities of Northern Italy." But if we knew Dante primarily by the list of his political enemies and their assigned circle . . . one need not labor the argument. Mr. MacLeish adds Shelley (a peculiarly unhappy example for his case), and then goes on to attempt to enlist Yeats, at his greatest, as an essentially political poet—quoting alike those poems in which Yeats carried on the immemorial battle between poet and philistine, and those in which he celebrated *qualities,* precious to him, demonstrated by actions precious to his country: *A terrible beauty is born.* . . . Yeats' poetic essence—approve or not approve—is in those words of his: ". . . turn away/ And like a laughing string/ Whereon mad fingers play/ Amid a place of stone,/ Be secret and exult,/ Because of all things known/ That is the most difficult." His contempt is pervasive for those who thought ". . . sword-strokes were better meant/ Than lovers' music." Mr. MacLeish takes pains to explain that it is not sword-strokes, but the poet's skill in combat, which he requires, (would it were the opposite). But no one can successfully gloss "lovers' music" to mean "patriotically-oriented verse."

In this amazing sequence we find how far we have come—or refused to come: "We no longer worry much about our private souls. We worry about the soul of America or about the soul of mankind. Look as far back as you please, you will find no generation of mankind which has lived as publicly in the public world as we do. Our dreams are public. Even our terrors are public. And nevertheless, we won't have our poetry out of doors." If all these propositions up to the last are true, how can the last fail to be inevitable? We have been brought bang-up against that falsest of choices, Poetry in the Street, or, what Mr. MacLeish calls Poetry in the Closet. Now we finish: "Poetry was never a house cat before . . ." and we find ourselves in a basket before the fire.

Well, with so generous, dedicated and often perceptive a book, surely we can part in some agreement. "There are no taboos in art. Art *should* do whatever it *can* do." Amen.

Psychographic Mill

THE AGE OF REASON. By Harold Nicolson. Doubleday. $5.95.

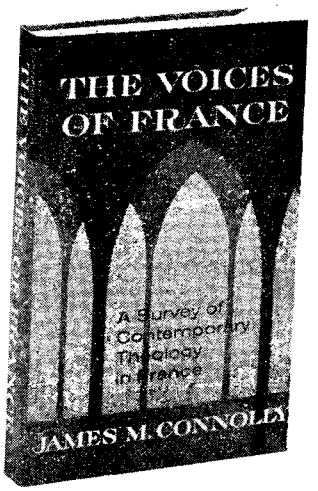
By MAX COSMAN

"I AM sometimes accused by my family," Sir Harold Nicolson tells us in one of his fugitive pieces, "of possessing what they call 'a Civil Service type of mind.' Admittedly I prefer order to chaos, experience to improvisation, reflection to impulse, and calm to excitability."

If nothing denigratory is implied in the type of mind indicated or in its various preferences, one can readily agree with both accusation and admission. For even if Sir Harold's previous works in biography, criticism, and history were to offer no basis for the acceptance, the present volume, *The Age of Reason,* does. Soberly undertaken, efficiently worked out, yet touched with the wit and maturity of phrase that goes so well at an executive conference, it is just what a man of upper-echelon service rating and long training in letters must write.

Inevitably, a treatment of such vast materials as are involved in the Age under consideration cannot proceed unless limits are established. It is in the cards then that Sir Harold should restrict his coverage. Spain and Portugal, for example, are left out of his discussion. Though Italy is not, it is nevertheless treated cavalierly. The emphasis, it is soon apparent, is on France and England, and, even so, notable figures like Newton and Condorcet are given but short shrift.

Sir Harold is also selective within his time-period. Though he identifies his Age with the eighteenth century, he soon affirms that its origins go back to the former century, to wit, to Isaac Newton's *Principia* of 1687 and John Locke's



THE VOICES OF FRANCE

A Survey of Contemporary Theology in France

by James M. Connolly

The French, says James M. Connolly, more than any other national section of the Church, have been forced to face the modern world. They were confronted with two alternatives: to retreat within the confines of traditional theological endeavor, or, on the other hand, to meet the moderns on their own grounds, to attempt to work out Christian theology within the intellectual framework erected by the secular scholars of their own age.

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Essay Concerning Human Understanding of 1690. As for its climax, he finds it not at the end of the 1700's but between 1751 and 1776 when the respective volumes of the *Encyclopédie* were published.

Nor does he entertain any illusions about Reason itself. If in rebellion against the restrictive forces of the seventeenth century it taught that ideas were derived from experience, that rational government presupposed the consent of the governed, that toleration in human affairs was proof of civilization, that religious belief no less than other beliefs must be cleansed of superstition, that Enthusiasm was suspect and Scepticism and Enlightenment were not, it was at the same time capable of being "sterile, negative, and heartless." Ironically too, its disciples, indeed the majority of them, vociferous as they might be, were often "utterly unreasonable."

This presentation of pro and con, this posting of credit and debit, in a word, this ambivalence of approach marks Sir Harold's treatment of all the worthies he has chosen to represent his Age. But whatever their limitations they still make up as impressive a group as one may hope to assemble.

There is Saint Simon, recorder par excellence of royalty and court, yet diminished by his passion for rank and precedence. There is Voltaire too, supreme contemner of fanaticism, sentiment, and oppression, but a reverer of the established order and a saved soul at the end. You also have Louis XIV, France's regal cynosure of glory, able and willing to do his kingly duty, but a gigantic egotist in the final analysis, and with him Peter the Great, demoniacally dynamic autocrat and reformer, aggressive imperialist and creator of Russia, but a coward at night and like a neurotic child unable to sleep alone.

Incidentally, it is in such anecdotage that Sir Harold gives proof again of his long-time interest in human beings—an interest, as his readers know, that has effectuated itself through the years in a series of works that reach from *The Development of English Biography* to so recent a study as *Sainte-Beuve*.

This commentary of factualities —it includes such details as Catherine the Great's thirty-odd lovers and Louis XV's *Parc aux cerfs*—goes hand in hand with psychological insight. Because Sir Harold is not hidebound by historical pieties and platitudes, he can be devastatingly keen on occasion. Take his remarks on Benjamin Franklin's visage as it shows up in one or another portrait. It is a "smarmy" thing, he notes, and in effect adds, Grant its possessor whatever praise you will for extraordinary civic virtues and achievements, you must not overlook the "craftiness," the "vanity, complacency, cunning and caution" it displays.

Similarly, Sir Harold can point out that Rousseau's back-to-nature movement, dependent as it is on instinct and sensation rather than on learning or logical thought, is patently "a means of self-protection," the reaction of a man basically uneducated and therefore prone, we gather, to rationalize his defects rather than control or amend them.

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Evidently, Sir Harold speaks his mind without let. Nor is he less severe when his own countrymen are concerned. His portrait of Samuel Johnson is a case in point. Though he admires the pugnacious doctor for impressiveness of character and for a lasting influence on England's language and literature, he does not hesitate to take him to task for being "an enemy to liberal thought," and even to speak of some of his opinions as startling for "their imbecility or intolerance."

Such forthrightness, as a matter of fact, is the rule whether the topic is the deserts of Walpole, the Augustan placidity of Addison, the debt America owes to Paine, the gullibility that brought about a Cagliostro, the attitudes of the Encyclopédistes towards patriotism and the like, or the intuitive interests displayed by the leaders of the *Sturm und Drang*.

It is all grist to Sir Harold's psychographic mill and justifies him in his claim that *The Age of Reason* is not a political, still less a military, history but "a gallery of portraits and a study of conflicting characters and successive states of mind."

Not unexpectedly, then, one comes away from a reading of the whole with a highly intellectualized experience of the past. Again France dominates the civilization of Europe. Again England holds up its end in the cultural exchange of the time. Again new nations like the American, the German, and the Russian rise to take their places in the ideational sun. And again that complex of sense, order, moderation, and equanimity which we denominate Reason has its day in the ineluctable systole and diastole of human thought.

REVIEWERS

Thomas P. McDonnell is a free-lance writer whose poetry and criticism appear in a number of Catholic periodicals.

Josephine Jacobsen, a frequent contributor, writes short stories, poetry as well as criticism.

Max Cosman, who contributes regularly to these pages, specializes in works by and about English authors.

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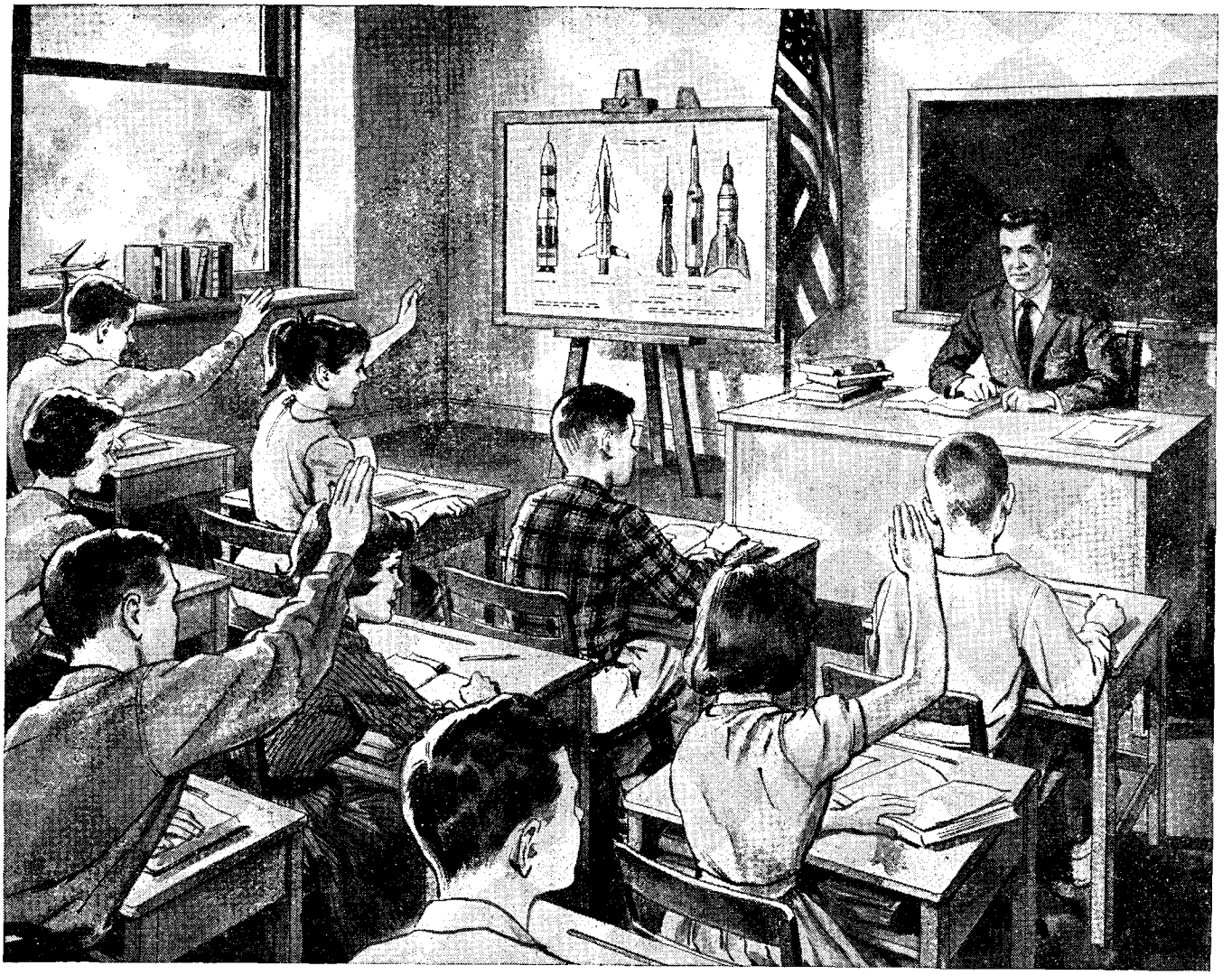

ANYONE FOR MARS?

Chances are there's more than one budding astronaut in this bright-eyed group. As in any other classroom in the land, there are probably several potential teachers, too . . . along with a sprinkling of doctors, scientists, linguists, engineers and poets.

Let's hope so.

Let's hope that all the bright-eyed youngsters in all the classrooms in this great country of ours will have every opportunity to make the most of their God-given talents. Let's hope they go to first-rate colleges and universities, where they will be trained to be useful and productive citizens. We're going to need them all in the critical years that lie ahead.

Yet what are their chances?

Today the college classroom, the place where future brainpower is generated, is being seriously weakened by two alarming trends: (1) Low faculty salaries are driving great numbers of gifted teachers into other fields, and doing little to attract talented young people to the teaching profession. And (2) physical facilities, in some cases already inadequate, are not being expanded to take care of mushrooming enrollments. (College applications are expected to *double* within ten years!)

This is a serious situation, and we must do something about it *now!* Our future as a nation depends on it. Won't you help? Support the college of your choice. Help it to pay teachers decent salaries and the respect they so richly deserve. Help it to build the classrooms, laboratories and libraries that will be so desperately needed by 1970. The rewards will be greater than you think.

It's important for you to know what the college crisis means to you. Write for a free booklet to: HIGHER EDUCATION, Box 36, Times Square Station, New York 36, New York.

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